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### Four Factions In Nicaragua Are Assessed

To sort out the situation in Nicaragua, to find out what's really going on in President Reagan's "secret war," I sent my roving reporter Jon Lee Anderson on repeated trips to the area.

There are four identifiable groups involved: the Sandinista regime in Managua; the CIA-backed counter-revolutionaries of the FDN; the Misura coalition of Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians and black Creoles, and the independent rebel force under the charismatic former Sandinista, Eden Pastora. As the flamboyant "Commander Zero," he played a major role in the overthrow of the American-backed dictatorship of the late Anastasio Somoza.

Here is my associate's assessment of the four groups, all fighting for their own hopes and dreams of what Nicaragua should become:

**The Sandinistas:** The Marxist-oriented regime in Managua is determined to hang onto the power it seized from Somoza four years ago, and has put the entire country on a near-hysterical war footing.

The regime has been helped im-

mensely in its militarization of Nicaragua by the hard-line rhetoric coming out of Washington, the Reagan administration's open support of the FDN "contras" and the Big Stick deployment of American troops and ships in the area.

If the U.S.-supported rebels fail, they will still have provided the Sandinistas a vital service: justification for the regime's consolidation of power as defender of the country against foreign intervention.

**The FDN:** Despite millions in CIA aid—or possibly because of it—the largest anti-Sandinista group has failed to make significant progress in its guerrilla war.

Rebel sources told my associate in Honduras last month that the CIA has exercised too little control over the arms and supplies it gives the FDN.

The result is rampant corruption in the top military leadership, which is composed almost entirely of former Somocista national guard officers.

The FDN civilian leadership is without real power. Though the FDN's inroads have done damage and forced the Sandinistas to assign militia to protect peasants at harvest time, the organization's internal dissension and lack of any wide popular appeal could be fatal.

**Eden Pastora:** Cunning, street-wise, macho and colorful, Pastora is the only individual rebel leader with

international stature. Yet despite his denunciation of his former Sandinista buddies for letting the Cubans and Soviets in, he is viewed with uneasy suspicion in Washington. "Pastora wants to be a new Fidel Castro," a high-level State Department source said.

Although his "pure" anti-Sandinista movement has failed to catch fire, he is still the only foreseeable replacement for the Managua junta who might capture the Nicaraguan people's loyalty.

**Misura:** The Indians' leader, 29-year-old Steadman Fagoth, a multilingual German-American-Miskito-Creole, has been forced into a reluctant alliance with the CIA-backed FDN. But he is clearly the junior partner in this marriage of convenience, and complains bitterly that his forces don't get the CIA supplies they're entitled to because they must come through the FDN and the Honduran army.

The Misura guerrillas are regarded with suspicion by the FDN and Honduras, which believe that the Indians are really fighting for independence from whoever is in power in Managua and Tegucigalpa. But the Indian fighters number about 2,000, and if they withdrew in disgust it could make things a lot tougher for the FDN. This is precisely what Indian leaders are threatening to do if they continue to be shortchanged on CIA supplies.